4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

601 Sister's grand-daughter, *chale choquem.*
Father's brother, *malyi.*
First cousins male in general, *udam penyi.*
„ „ female, *udam lamuen.*
Second cousins, *epuchi udam penyi*, or *epuchi udam lamuen.*
Father's sister, *palu.*
Mother's brother, *huecu.*
Mother's sister, *niukentu.*

Marriage relations.

Wife's father, *puinyimo.*
„ mother, *nanen.*
„ brother, *vilyica.*
„ sister, *nyadu.*

The collateral relations took the same names:—

Husband's father, *Kempu.*
„ mother; *Llalla.*
„ brother, *ngilyanyi.*
„ sister, *kerun.*

The other relations by matrimony took the names of the corresponding blood relations:—

Stepfather, *pelcuchao.*
Stepmother, *nyenye.*
Stepson, *malyi notem.*
Stepdaughter, *malyi miahue.*
Wife, *cure.*
Husband, *vuta* (*grande*).
Consort (of either sex), *pinyom.*
Mistress, *unyam.*
Children in general, *conyi.*
Natural children, *vuchen.*

854 In general the Araucano women have limited families, and, owing to the little
1165 care their offspring receive, the infant mortality is very great. As soon as they can
847 run about the children are left to their own resources almost absolutely, and from
845 a very early age take an active part in the licence and debauches of their parents.
Owing to the continual warfare and the desire to bring up robust and warlike descendants, all misformed or delicate children were slain at birth. Twin children were considered unlucky, and either one was brought up in the family of some near relative as their child, or it was killed at once. A child born feet foremost was also considered unlucky.

595 *Marriage Customs.*—Polygamy is very generally practised among the Araucanos, the only limit to the number of wives a man may possess being his ability to

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

feast, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of its blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Toltén, a tree was planted at the name-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned lest she die. (On kuga names, see supra under Kinship, p. 723.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 78): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with boards or else a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1855, p. 213; Latcham, 1909, pls. 34–35; cf. Moesbach, 1936, pp. 186–88 for description).

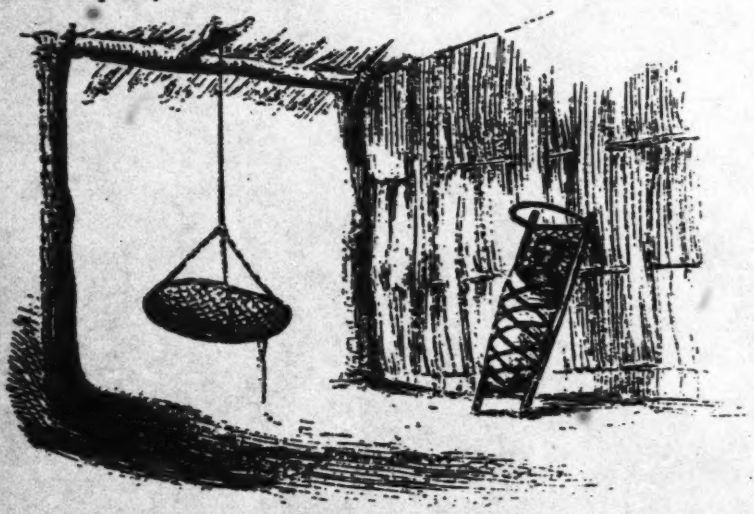


FIGURE 78.—*Mapuche* cradles. (After Smith, 1855, p. 213.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until all the child's teeth were cut (Latcham, 1909, p. 360), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 713).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gusinde (1936, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with mud (Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:241–42; 1908, p. 222). Félix José (1916, 1:91) lists the verb koftun, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, as done sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—so making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 222; 1929, 2:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of contraceptive practices; apparently in recent

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex. 842.

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy. 787 842

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[8] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!" 775 845

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman must not eat jaiba (ranūm), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy. 262 843

[8] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

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two upright poles that are driven into the ground about a foot apart. In Panguipulli area the woman not infrequently clutches a rope suspended from the rafters of the ruka. One of the women assisting her, usually the midwife, or any of those present—or the woman's husband, if no one else is present—kneels behind the woman, embraces her about the abdomen, and presses it with both hands. Sometimes a man's belt is tied about her waist and lowered with the progress of the delivery. After the child is born, its parents thank God that it has arrived and ask Him to help the child to continue to live and grow to maturity.

After delivery, "while the mother's body is still half sick," she is given a decoction made by boiling silvestre salvia, linaza, sanguinaria, and karûl'awen, an aquatic plant. The mother has collected these from fields and open spaces and brooks before the birth of her child and has them ready for use. The midwife brings none with her. If the mother bleeds during delivery or afterward, she is given a decoction of ŋalaŋalau, a plant found in brooks.

Some midwives, "wise ones," know how to assist at difficult deliveries. According to Cooper's sources, they practiced cephalotomy when need was indicated (1946, p. 732). Quoting a Coñaripe informant: "If a child is not born within four days after labor pains begin and there is no wise midwife available, the mother usually dies. If the midwife is one who knows, she will boil flaxseed and lubricate her hand with the oil that comes to the surface. Before lubricating the hand, however, she cleans it well and cuts all fingernails of it close, except one, either the thumb or the first finger. Then she inserts her lubricated hand into the cervix, tears the sac with the one fingernail retained, and usually the baby is soon born." If all known means have been resorted to unsuccessfully, it is believed an evil spirit prevents the birth, and a machi is hired to perform a machitun. (Cf. pp. 115-121 for performances of machitun.)

During the present study an Araucanian midwife delivered a Chilean woman of one of a pair of twins. The other, not yet delivered, was thought, by Chilean women neighbors, to be dead. The midwife mixed water, vegetable oil, urine of those present, and ashes which she obtained by burning some of the woman's hair. Everyone present encouraged the woman to observe the midwife prepare the mixture. The woman drank two-thirds of a glassful of it, gagged violently, and gave birth to the twin, alive.

The baby's birth is not announced, nor is it celebrated by feast or ceremonial. Usually, however, a lamb or sheep is slaughtered and a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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845 substantial meal prepared for the family and those who assisted at the birth. Neither mother nor child is fumigated.

The Chilean law obliges the father to record the birth of his child at a government office in the province in which the child is born.

STILLBIRTHS

"My fifth child was born dead. It was harvest time, and I believe I worked too hard in the fields and caused the baby to put itself into a wrong position, and that is why it was born dead. My seventh child was stillborn too. But why it was so born, I do not know. Maybe it would have lived if I had had the help of someone. When it was about to be born, there was no one at home except my little boy—he was only a baby himself. I had no one to send for help. I was so sick that I thought I must die. I cooked some flaxseed and drank a liter of it. Then the child was born; but it was dead. I have often thought that when children grow up they need to be told how much their mothers suffered giving them birth."

NAVEL CORD

844 In Coñaripe area the midwife or another woman present (the woman herself, if she is alone when the birth occurs) cuts the umbilical cord a handstretch from the navel. In Alepúe area the measure is three times the distance from tip of thumb to its first joint. The cord is cut with a knife—formerly one of flint.

The woman who cuts the cord drains the fluid from the section adhering to the navel (away from the navel) "until it [the cord] is as thin as a string," and then either coils it (clockwise) around the navel so that all of it will rest flat upon the baby's body, or piles it into a little heap alongside the navel. Then she covers it with a small wad of wool and puts on top of this a paste made of leaves. In Alepúe area the cord is generally greased to keep it from sticking to the body. Very recently several women had used commercial talcum powder in place of grease. All is kept in position by a band, similar to a man's belt, tied around the baby's body.

At intervals the mother peeks under the band to see if the cord has dried and fallen off. Ordinarily it does so within 10 days. Should it be oozing, she cleans it and treats it as before. If it does not drop off within another 10 days, a preparation is applied of ashes of wood mixed with scrapings off the smaller end of a corncob. The corncob is dried near the fire until almost scorched. If no corncob is at hand, the powdered scrapings off the edge of a piece of pottery or,

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ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and its neighboring area of Licán. In Alepúe area three pairs were born between 1934 and 1936. 845

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with mud (1946, p. 733). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for Alepúe and Panguipulli areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (herbalists and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Coñaripe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second-born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [Alepúe] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two weeks ago." Twins were reared in their home like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary power. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half-sister was spoken of—both man and woman had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." 835

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian widower whose daughter ran away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not uncommon for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from 848

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848 an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the home of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother loses the esteem of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her home," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to force a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's home." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced he said, and added, "I told those at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. What I feared has happened; my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her maternal aunt's house.

DEFORMED CHILDREN, SICK BABIES, INFANTICIDE

● 845 732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet

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were badly crippled," she said. " I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on these. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, then. But it was not our custom to do that."

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733).

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health.

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195
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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, [845] and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Cofiaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Cofiaripe area. "A daughter 848 of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three 158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Cofiaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted 736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor- 513 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

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842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of
787 predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means
845 that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos
262 or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known.
[171] Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos
784 or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

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maqui;[8] if she had unusually prolonged pains or a difficult delivery, she was given a decoction of kanchan l'awen (unidentified) and frutilla. One woman had given her daughter (the informant) a nauseating mixture of raw egg and a preparation of toronjil during a difficult delivery. While the toronjil was being boiled in water, the mother peeled the shell off one end of an egg, then poured the boiling toronjil into the shell, and stirred it and the egg until they were well mixed. The daughter drank the mixture directly from the shell. After this the mother poked a tiny hole in one end of another egg and a somewhat larger hole into the opposite end. "I had to blow into the hole," said the daughter, "until I had blown the contents out of the other hole. It took much force, but the baby came almost immediately after I got that done."

The woman kneels during delivery, bearing down either by clutching with both hands one of the upright poles that support the roof, or by pulling at a rope that has been attached to a rafter. Births today must be recorded, in accordance with Argentine law.

PREMATURE BIRTHS, STILLBIRTHS

Rarely did a premature birth occur. One child, born after a 7-month pregnancy, "did not open its eyes for nearly four weeks, and it could not suckle either; it had to be fed with a spoon."

Stillbirths were a rare event. During my interviews regret was expressed several times regarding two women who had had stillbirths at a First Aid Station conducted by non-Araucanians. Both died while there. "Had these women stayed home, their relatives could have helped them and they might have lived." The informant, 60 years old, then told how a dead fetus was delivered: "If the mother of the woman, or whoever is attending the woman, notices that the child is not living—she will know this because the woman has been in labor a long time and cannot deliver her baby—she waits a little while longer, hoping the woman will, through her own efforts, give birth to the child. When the woman is finally sick unto death, a broad band is tied about her waist: this helps bring the child downward. Long before this, of course, the sac has opened. The mother, or whoever is helping the woman, reaches in with her hand and takes hold of the baby's head or its hair, and pulls the baby from its position. After she has the baby, she pulls at the cord, and in that way removes the

[8] Spanish names of plants are used throughout, unless it was impossible to obtain them, in which case the Araucanian names are used. English names were not obtained. Cf. Appendix B, Plants used by the Araucanians.

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placenta, also. And that is what we could have done for these two women, and they might have lived." 845

NAVEL CORD

The attending woman ties off the umbilical cord with a thread and severs the cord beyond this. The navel is given no treatment. Informants agreed that the cord was kept by the mother, after it fell off, but they differed as to its disposal. Some dried the cord thoroughly, then ground it to powder, and gave a little of it in water to the child whenever the child was sick; others merely stored it with other personal things. "But with all the moving around we have had to do since they took our land from us, the ones I kept got lost." A 70-year-old man listened with interest to the Arapaho way of sewing the cord into a beaded bag (Hilger, 1952, pp. 22-23) and remarked, "That was not the custom ever around here." Today, the cord is buried inside the house near the wall. 844 [171]

PLACENTA, CAUL

If the placenta was being ejected with difficulty, the woman was given a decoction of finely powdered root of apio boiled in chicha (fermented fruit juice), or, if no chicha was at hand, in water. In extreme cases she was given her own urine to drink, hoping that gagging would eject the placenta; if this brought no result, gagging was increased by giving her the urine of several persons present. In general, today as formerly, the placenta is buried near the wall within the house or close to the outside of it. In several instances it was known to have been discarded as refuse. [273]

Most informants had not heard of a child born with a caul; several who did were older than 60. They knew that a child so born could be expected to grow up to be an intelligent person. "That is why my son grew up to be so intelligent; but when he is intoxicated he certainly loses his intelligence; he is stupid then." The caul was dried and either stored or buried within the house, very near to the outside of it. "Such a thing you do not throw away; the good fortune of the child depends on it."

STERILIZING THE EYES OF THE NEWBORN BABY

Usually the milk of the baby's mother is dropped into the baby's eyes, "so that it will not have sore eyes." Occasionally today aniline dye is used. 846

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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her.

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth.

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die."

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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machi. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1.e. the machi -- Analyst]